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**Representations of United States Public Healthcare Policy
in Right-Wing Media:**
A Case Study of Breitbart News Articles
During the 2020 Presidential Election

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Abstract

For many years, the United States' inability to provide basic universal healthcare has been a mystery. Why does the richest country in the world not have the best healthcare and the best health outcomes? This study examines the disposition of US opposition to publicly funded healthcare. It is a qualitative case study comprised of articles from the right-wing media outlet Breitbart News during the 2020 presidential election. The textual and thematic analysis aims to shed some light on how this outlet represents their opposition to healthcare policies such as the Affordable Care Act and Medicare for all.

Keywords: healthcare, universal healthcare, medicare for all, mfa, affordable care act, aca, obamacare, right-wing news, breitbart

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List of Abbreviations

ACA: The Affordable Care Act, also known as “Obamacare.”

AMA: The American Medical Association, large professional associating representing physicians and their interests.

IRS: Internal Revenue Service, responsible for the collection of taxes within the United States

DMV: Department of Motor Vehicles, responsible for issuing driver’s licenses within the United States (Run at the state level)

MFA: Medicare for All, a policy goal to expand Medicare to cover the entire US population instead of just senior citizens, at the center of the 2020 presidential race

NMA: National Medical Association, Black alternative to the AMA that represented physicians of color when the AMA would not

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals, as per the UN’s Agenda 2030

WPR: “What’s the problem represented to be?” An approach to policy analysis from Carol Bacchi.

1. Introduction

For many years, the United States has lagged behind other high-income countries when it comes to healthcare. By almost every objective measure of health outcomes, (lifespan, infant and maternal mortality, heart disease rates and deaths, etc), the United States loses to every other OECD country. This is especially pertinent when you consider that the United States spends almost double the amount of money per person as other comparable OECD countries (Tikkanen and Abrams 2020; Kurani et al. 2020; Merelli 2017).

The following chart shows the spending disparity, and how even though a large percentage of the money spent is from private sources (such as employer provided health care plans or out of the pockets of individuals) the United States still spends more public money per capita than the average OECD country, all of which do have a national universal healthcare plan:

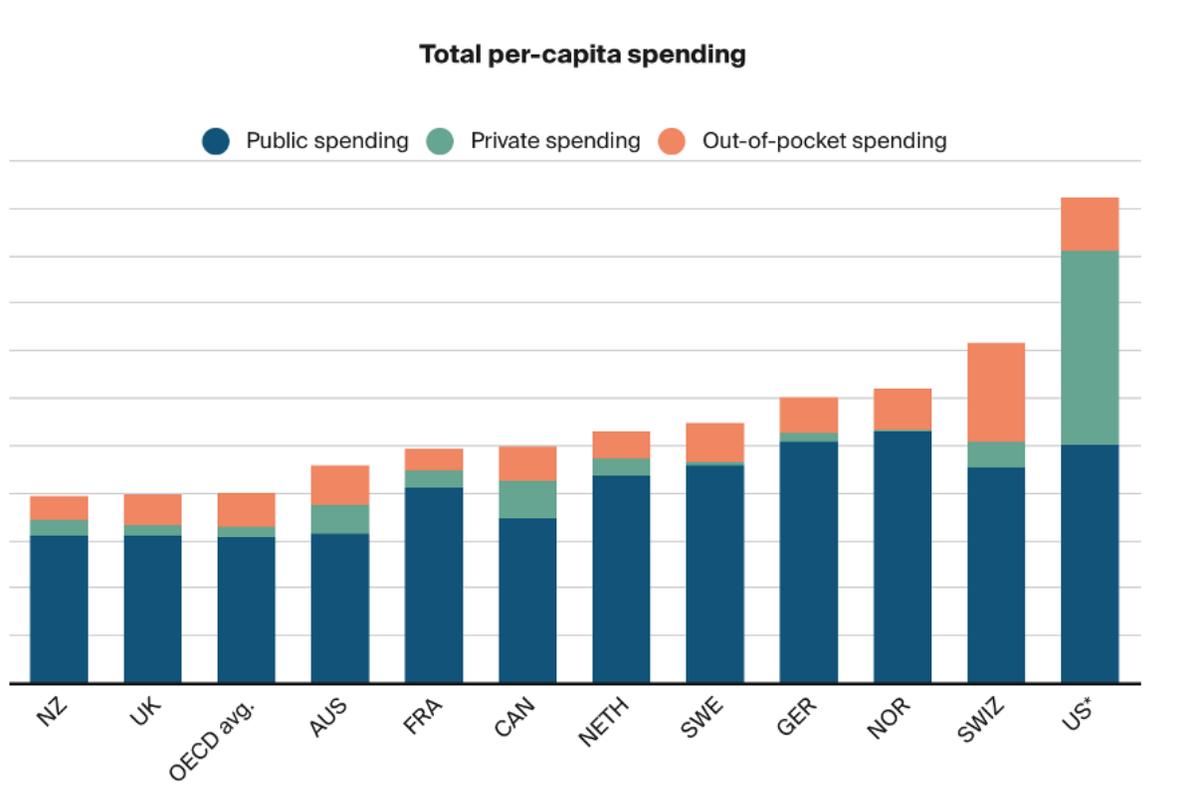


Fig. 1 Source: Tikkanen & Abrams 2020

However, in spite of the wealth of evidence that the system in the United States is far worse than other OECD countries, and widespread (ever-increasing) support amongst the American public

(Pew Research Center 2020), there continues to be a very strong, passionate opposition to any expanded access to healthcare. What this indicates is that the opposition is driven by something besides electability. In this paper, I am not concerned with why this is, or what motivates the “opposition.” What I am looking at is *how* this opposition is framed.

1.1 Research Question

I originally wanted to examine both sides of the debate: arguments for and against public, universal healthcare, as opposed to private health insurance. However, the more I looked at the data, and read the relevant literature, the less convinced I was that there was a good faith debate being had. Since no objective measure can be cited to support the opposition to expanded healthcare, this opposition either doesn’t use sources at all, or cites other unsourced right-wing media platforms.

The focus of my research became an examination of this right-wing media,¹ in an attempt to uncover the main themes, arguments, and rhetorical tools presented to oppose expanded health services within the United States. It led to me asking the following research question:

How are policies which expand access to government-backed healthcare (such as Medicare for All and the Affordable Care Act) represented in right-wing US media?

1.2 Why

The international development community talks very frequently about corruption and poor governance, and generally this is directed towards poor countries in the global south. But there seems to be no clearer example of corruption or poor governance than a system influenced by private financial gains that doesn’t work on even a basic level compared to other wealthy countries. For example, when measuring the United States according to the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals, Merelli (2017) pointed out many instances where the country failed to live up to the basic standards.

¹ It is important to note that "right-wing" is used in this context to mean "extremely and reliably politically conservative." This is opposed to the terms "left-wing," "progressive" and "liberal," all of which are used interchangeably in American media and within this paper. In the middle, words like "centrist," and "moderate" are used.

The United States is generally thought of as a “developed” country (and if one measures by GDP alone, that seems to be a fair argument). However, in the area of healthcare, the United States is unquestionably still developing. (In fact, some have argued that if you look at where the US stands relative to the current SDGs, it shouldn’t even be grouped in with other developed countries [Merelli 2017].) Because so many Americans now support public healthcare (Pew Research Center 2020), the biggest obstacle is the right-wing opposition. The aim of this paper is to understand how the healthcare debate is framed by right-wing media. More specifically, I will be examining the representations of progressive healthcare policies during the most recent presidential election news cycle. To that end, I will be engaging in a thematic analysis of a set of news articles from Breitbart News as a case study.

The ultimate goal is to shed some light on the question of how the “opposition” argues against these extremely popular policies. Ultimately, I hope that this analysis will assist in the fight in favor of progressive healthcare policy and expanded access to government-sponsored plans.

2. Background

In this section, I will discuss the background of the healthcare debate in the United States, with particular attention those who oppose expanded government options, and providing context for the “current” debate that is still ongoing.

2.1 Setting the Stage

We can begin with a little story to illustrate how these “bad faith” arguments spread. In 2009, a Republican politician named Betsy McCaughey (who, it should be noted, possesses no particular expertise in the healthcare field, but has been publicly commenting on healthcare legislation for many years, opposing any expanded access since the 1990s), made a claim on conservative talk radio that the Affordable Care Act (ACA) legislation, also known as “Obamacare,” contained a sinister provision. The provision, she claimed, would force senior citizens to undergo mandatory “end of life” counseling sessions during which they would be pressured to end their lives. It seems that she was (perhaps intentionally) misunderstanding a provision that funded *voluntary* advanced care counseling for seniors who wanted it, and there was, of course, no evidence that

that counseling would encourage anyone to end their lives. This misinterpretation of the written policy was directly refuted several times, and yet it spread like wildfire through conservative media outlets. Eventually, it was taken up by former Alaskan governor and Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin in a FaceBook post, where she claimed that “death panels” would decide if seniors, chronically ill and disabled people should be allowed to live (also claiming that they would have forced her to “kill [her] baby with Down syndrome.”) Again, there was absolutely not a shred of evidence to support this claim, but it spread so fast (appearing in many right-wing outlets as well as mainstream media such as the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and all over cable news. In less than a month, polls found that 86% of Americans had heard the claim and half of those believed that it was true (Nyhan 2010).

If the initial lie was a genuine misunderstanding of something in the legislation, then it seems as if it would have slowed down, or at least led to some retractions by McCaughey and the others that perpetuated the myth, once it was clarified by multiple policy makers and scholars in major news outlets (Nyhan 2010). However, this never happened, which means that it’s quite fair to wonder whether it was ever a genuine concern, as opposed to a cynical ploy to scare people about the ACA legislation that conservatives were already dead-set against, before it had even been written. Even more telling is the fact that this was not a new story, but rather a technique that had been used many times throughout US history, beginning with the first time universal healthcare was proposed as a nationwide, practical policy goal for Americans to consider (Schremmer & Knapp 2011).

In 1945, in the wake of World War 2, Harry Truman declared in a speech before Congress that the need for universal health care was the country’s greatest and most urgent challenge. Legislators jumped to the challenge, redrafting an older bill from the New Deal Era proposing just that. The bill, however, soon faced its most vehement opposition: The American Medical Association (AMA), the largest professional medical association in the country, a powerful group that represented (white male) physicians. The lobbying campaign to oppose the bill was, at that point, the largest in US history, the first run by a professional PR company. And most importantly, it was successful. The campaign turned what was a popular piece of legislation into an instrument of fear, telling people that it would destroy their autonomy, their ability to make their own choices over medical care for themselves and their family, and ruin the sacred

doctor/patient relationship. Their slogan was “A Threat to Health—A Threat to Freedom!” and their literature played upon growing fears of communism. The campaign worked, and by 1946, the bill had died (Schremmer & Knapp 2011; Quadagno 2005, pp. 27-28; Schimmel 2016, pp. 164-169).

2.2 Healthcare for Profit

These two brief stories lay the foundation to US opposition to national health care, opposition that had been echoed in every debate since (Schremmer & Knapp 2011; Quadagno 2005, p. 205), whether that was over medicare and coverage for senior citizens in the 1960s, over Hillary Clinton trying to expand coverage for poor children in the 1990s, or giving rights to people with pre-existing conditions in the 2008 Obamacare fight. Every step of the way, every proposed expansion of coverage by the United States government was met with opposition grounded in a fear of lost profits, using coded language about choice and privacy (Quadagno 2005, p. 6).

It seems here as if the commodification of the healthcare system is actually the root cause of the problems (Christiansen 2017; Quadagno 2005, p. 6). If the goal of the system is to make money as opposed to keeping people healthy and healing them as quickly as possible when they're not, then of course more money is being spent for little to no gains. This is the argument put forth by Christiansen (2017), who argues that this commodification explains the inequality of health outcomes as well as the inefficiency of US spending. For example, some health services and medications in the United States (as compared to the much cheaper options in Cuba) are totally unrelated to the manufacturing costs (Christiansen 2017). It is especially relevant to discuss this in the midst of the global Covid-19 pandemic. In a time of unprecedented unemployment and the rampant spreading of disease, it makes even less sense to tie healthcare to employment.

In spite of a few policy “wins,” such as Medicare in the 1960s and the ACA in 2010, the legislation didn't fundamentally change the system in the United States, which is still mostly private insurance companies. Those policies also didn't influence the influencers in writing the legislation and who, ultimately, benefit financially from keeping the private system in place (Zimmerman & Anderson 2019).

The “private” system, as shown in the chart above, doesn’t save the taxpayers or the government any money over a system with universal coverage. It also seems less effective than universal systems in comparable economies (Tikkanen & Abrams 2020; Kurani et al. 2020; Merelli 2017).

Thus, most liberal or progressive policy proposals are focused on expanding access to publicly funded healthcare, whether that means subsidizing costs within the private system, such as the ACA, or attempting to steer away from private health insurance for basic medical, dental, vision and mental health needs altogether, such as MFA.

3. Existing Research/Previous Studies

This section will give an overview of previous research that analyzes healthcare debates in the United States.

3.1 Historical Overview

There are two major books that specifically discuss healthcare discourses in the United States. The first is Jill Quadagno’s *One Nation Uninsured* (2005), which gives an extensive and historical critical overview of the healthcare debate throughout the entire twentieth century. The second is Noam Schimmel’s *Presidential Healthcare Reform Rhetoric* (2016), which focuses specifically on the arguments and rhetoric by presidents in favor of expanded healthcare, briefly touching upon Theodore Roosevelt and the early 1900s but generally beginning with Harry Truman in 1945.

Both of these authors operate on a similar assumption to the one I made towards the beginning of my research process: that there is no such thing as a good faith argument against universal healthcare. As evidence, Quadagno claims that the strongest opposition to expanded healthcare has been “stakeholder mobilization,” concerned much more with profits than with effectiveness of the healthcare system or quality of care (Quadagno 2005, p. 11). Similarly, Schimmel characterizes the opposition to universal healthcare as using “[e]motionally laden discourse rather than fact-centered discourse justified with evidence has characterized critiques of

universal healthcare legislation since their initial, tentative state-based efforts in 1914” (Schimmel 2016, p. 70).

Schimmel goes on to report a “discursive struggle[...]to frame a government guarantee of health insurance as something to fear that was not only potentially dangerous, but that was malevolent in intent. There was no acknowledgment of the values of equality of opportunity, communitarian social solidarity, and respect for a right to decent health and the liberty that such health enables in AMA rhetoric” (ibid., p. 75).

Quadagno’s central thesis is that these “stakeholders” have changed over the years, and that has served to obscure the fact that opposition, despite the exact source, has always been largely from private stakeholders concerned with money and profits. First, the major opposition to national healthcare came from physicians (or rather, the AMA) in the early years, and then later it came mostly from insurance companies. She also attempts to explain why the phenomena people usually attribute to a lack of universal healthcare – “enduring antigovernment sentiment, a weak labor movement, the racial politics of the South, the distinctive character of American political institutions, or the way early policy choices crowded out subsequent policy options” – are only part of the picture. The more important factors, she argues, are the “stakeholders” who have a financial motive to mobilize and team up, sometimes with unlikely allies, to crush any potential advancements (Quadagno 2005, pp. 11-12, p. 206).

Both of these books are extensive and well-researched, containing rich analysis and a clear message. However, in spite of their merits, there are gaps in the research. For example, Quadagno’s book was published in 2005, and thus focused mostly on the 20th century, with only a few references to the Bush Administration and policies in the first few years of the 2000s. On the other hand, Schimmel’s book is from 2016, and so he covers one of the most important policies in the last 15 years (during the Obama administration), the ACA. And yet he focuses almost entirely on the specific presidential rhetoric around these policies, only touching upon the “opposition” when it’s necessary to make sure that the story is understood.

3.2 The Debate from Other Perspectives

The other research on the healthcare debate in the United States often looks at things through a specific lens, such as Byrd and Clayton's historical overview of healthcare as a series of racialized, and specifically anti-Black, measures and arguments, some of which persist to this day. (Byrd & Clayton 2001)

There are two books on the history of and debate surrounding Medicaid, (Engel 2006; Michener 2018) which are very interesting and rich overviews, but not specifically relevant to the current debate. Michener's *Fragmented Democracy* is the most recent, and makes a compelling argument for strengthening the Medicaid system system, with special attention paid to how the current cracks in the system disproportionately affect Black and Latino Americans (Michener 2018).

Another compelling and somewhat related read is *The Divided Welfare State* (Hacker 2002), which goes into not just healthcare, but many areas of public spending, comparing the US to other wealthy countries, especially in Europe. More recently, Rutger Bregman published *Utopia for Realists* (2014), intended to be a blueprint for creating a more equitable world that treated universal healthcare as a bare minimum human right.

3.3 Healthcare in the US: A Current Report Card

The most recent report to shed some light on the disparity between healthcare outcomes in the United States versus other high-income countries was published by the British Commonwealth Fund in August of 2021. The authors graded 11 high-income countries on 71 performance indicators across five "domains" related to healthcare, and the United States measured last in all but 1 domain, with overall scores far lower than the other countries (Schneider et al. 2021).

One of the domains examined in the Schenider et al. (2021) report was equity in healthcare services, and that's an area where the US scored very low. Because of the private insurance system, it is very important to note that the quality of health care is intrinsically tied to income, which is in turn tied to other measures of inequality such as race and gender. (It is important to keep in mind the idea of equity in health, especially racial equity, as many of the healthcare debates over the years have been [at the very least] racially charged, if not overtly racial in nature

[Byrd & Clayton 2001], a factor that should definitely be considered when analyzing this discourse.)

Schneider et al.'s report (2021) is just the latest in a series of studies that tell us the same thing: next to any other high-income country with universal healthcare, the United States fares worse. (Tikkanen & Abrams 2020; Kurani et al. 2020; Merelli 2017)

3.4 The Gap

No current research exists that specifically analyzes right-wing healthcare discourse, and very little research exists that discusses the opposition to universal healthcare in the 21st century. Therefore, this paper intends to make some inroads into filling in that gap, focusing on right-wing news coverage of healthcare policy during the 2020 presidential election cycle.

4. Theoretical Framework

To analyze the right-wing representations of (and arguments within) the United States healthcare debate, this paper will utilize several theoretical perspectives: Carol Bacchi's "What's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) approach will be discussed first. Then, the relevant theoretical concept of path dependency and the "too big to fail" argument will be touched upon. Lastly, the analysis draws upon the concepts of neoliberal policies such as privatization, deregulation, and small government, which were popularized by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s and still permeating US policy debates today.

4.1 WPR

Using Bacchi's questions as a basic framework for analysis, I will use WPR to examine and deconstruct the common arguments, themes and patterns within US right-wing media discourse surrounding healthcare and healthcare policy. Bacchi's framework for analysis puts forth the theory that meaning can emerge by asking a specific set of questions based around problem representations (Bacchi 2009, p. 7, p. 21, p. 45). Thus, while this is definitely relevant to methods, it is also an important theoretical perspective for this particular paper.

Bacchi's approach is intended as a method of policy analysis, but in this case, applying it in a nonlinear way to analyze the data will assist in understanding the framing of problems, the problematization of different perspectives and themes, and how these ideas are constructed, both intentionally and unintentionally (Bacchi 2009, p. xix, p. 45).

The core of Bacchi's method consists of asking the following six questions:

Q1. What's the "problem" represented to be in a specific policy?

Q2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the "problem"?

Q3. How has this representation of the "problem" come about?

Q4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?
Where are the silences? Can the "problem" be thought about differently?

Q5. What effects are produced by this representation of the "problem"?

Q6. How/where has this representation of the "problem" been produced, disseminated and defended? How can it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

(Bacchi 2009, p. 48)

This paper will not be using these questions in a linear fashion in my analysis, nor will the analysis necessarily use all of them, instead employing them as a point of departure to dig into the themes present in the data set. Most particularly, questions 1-4 are relevant in this thesis.

4.2 Path Dependency and "Too Big to Fail"

This research also very much relates to the concept of path dependency, which I would like to approach from a critical perspective, understanding that history matters, and that as systems and institutions, such as the private healthcare sector, become stronger and more enmeshed within other institutional structures, they become harder and harder to dismantle. At the same time, it is

always essential to remember that systems can and do change, and that even when that change is difficult, the laziest thing one can do as an academic researcher is to accept that because things were one way in the past, there's no way to imagine a different or better future (Kay 2005).

Additionally, there is another concept somewhat related to path dependency that we hear a lot when a sector such as the auto industry or Wall Street needs a government bailout: the concept of "too big to fail." The health care industry in the United States is a sprawling behemoth that affects the economy in every state, every county. I will critically dissect this argument, putting forth the counterpoint that the most relevant part of the expression "too big to fail" is "too big," and how no industry should be as influential over every part of our lives as the private health care sector (Sorkin 2018).

4.3 Neoliberalism

When defending private healthcare, many on the political right rely on a neoliberal thought, as defined by David Harvey (2005, pp. 2-6, p. 16, p. 23, pp. 61-62) as a collection of principles made widely popular in the 1980s, based in economic liberalism, including but not limited to: privatization, "small" government, low taxes for the wealthy and corporations, and deregulation of the markets. The scope of this paper is not to engage with these ideas in a critical way, to analyze their merits or to disprove their validity, but rather to recognize and point out when they crop up in the data set, so that the research question of "how" the healthcare debate is illustrated more clearly. As Harvey notes, these ideas didn't originate or end with the Reagan Administration, and in fact continue to be a major theoretical underpinning for much of conservative and right-wing thought in American politics (Harvey 2007).

5. Data and Methods

This section of the paper describes the specific data to be collected and analyzed. Then, it will show why a case study is useful for answering the research question. Additionally, the research design will be outlined and the methods explained. Finally, the limitations and ethical considerations, including biases, will be noted.

5.1 Data

The data chosen for this study is from a right-wing news media website, because right-wing media platforms are the main source of opposition to expanding public healthcare in the United States. Although “right-wing media” in the United States is by no means a monolith, the messaging is surprisingly unified across platforms, which is the reason I focused my analysis on one outlet.

Breitbart News is one of the most consistently right-wing media outlets, a news website with an audience that skews significantly farther to the right than Fox News, with an audience similar to that of Rush Limbaugh, Glenn Beck, and Sean Hannity (Pew Research Center 2014).

Additionally, a nonpartisan review of the content by AllSides (2021) rated Breitbart as “right,” which is their most conservative rating, a category that also includes Fox News, The Daily Mail, the New York Post opinion section, and The Federalist.

The unit of analysis chosen for the study is a collection of articles from Breitbart, focusing on the period of the 2020 presidential election, which ranges from September 2019 to December of 2020. (Although articles from July 2019 through January 2021 were considered.) As noted in the Existing Research section above, one of the gaps in current research that this study intends to fill in is a study of both recent and specifically right-wing data, which is why the bounds of this source, Breitbart News, and time period were selected.

Utilizing Breitbart’s own tagging system, articles were surveyed and reviewed that were marked with “Medicare for All,” “Obamacare,” and “Healthcare.” Then, they were narrowed down further to articles which took a stance in regards to expanded healthcare access. In other words, they had to offer some kind of opinion, judgment, conclusion or perspective on either the ACA, MFA, single-payer healthcare, universal healthcare, or the general idea of expanded government healthcare. (In this election cycle, it was usually a reference to ACA because of the Biden-Obama connection, or MFA because of Bernie Sanders, but those weren’t the only two concepts considered.)

Following these parameters, the data set ended up being a group of 111 articles, all containing the following: dated from September 2019 through December 2020 coverage relating to the US

2020 presidential election, a mention of one or more healthcare policies such as single payer, MFA or the ACA, and offering some kind of opinion on those policies.²

5.2 Research Design and Methods

This thesis and particular data set is best described as a case study approach, since the data is bounded by a specific time period and comes from a single news source in the course of one election cycle, which can be considered an “activity” (Creswell & Creswell 2017, p. 13).

The methodological approach involves a multi-part mixed methods process. While the core of the analysis will be qualitative, best described as a thematic analysis of the articles (Bryman 2008, pp. 578-581), there will also be some quantitative data collected in order to triangulate the quantitative findings, thus supporting the validity of the analysis and conclusions (Creswell & Creswell 2017, p. 14, p. 200). I first used reflexive thinking (Bryman 2008, pp. 393-394) and qualitative textual analysis to come up with a coding system to discover and quantify patterns, themes, and connections amongst the articles, as well as taking qualitative notes along the way, and then finally applying Carol Bacchi’s “What’s the problem represented to be?” method, or WPR, to consider the themes and general messaging from a more holistic standpoint. As discussed in the theory section, WPR was used in a more abstract theoretical sense, rather than as a literal method: partly because I am analyzing news articles and not policy, so not all of her questions are relevant, and partly because the scope of the data (at 111 articles) means that the questions can’t be answered consistently for the entire group. Rather, WPR was used as a jumping off point when understanding each theme and used reflexively to make sure that I was asking the appropriate questions.

When examining the articles from a qualitative perspective, the previous research and historical background was also considered, which helped to illuminate the sociopolitical and historical context for the analysis (Bryman 2008, p. 13). As this process of thematic and textual analysis along with WPR questions went back and forth with coding and putting things into historical context, some themes began to emerge. By the end of the analytic process, there were five major themes that stood out, along with three smaller sub-themes. The final step in the process was to

² All 111 Bretibart articles are listed out in Appendix A

look for patterns, connections and relationships among the themes in order to get a more holistic overview of how they related to and influenced each other.

5.3 Limitations

There are several areas of this thesis that have the capacity to limit the scope of the study. First, there is room for personal bias to potentially getting in the way of the subjective analysis. Next, there is the fact that the research methodology is flexible (by design), which could interfere with reaching clear conclusions. Additionally, the size and scope of the sample “case” may make it difficult to apply the findings beyond this specific data set, due to the choice of one news outlet, as well as potential redundancies within the data itself. Lastly, there are ethical considerations to take into account.

Of course, we all have personal biases, and in the case of this thesis, it is important for me to acknowledge my own (Creswell & Creswell 2017, p. 250). I come from a family where progressive ideals are extremely important values, and have considered myself to be far left of center all my life (or at least, as far back as I can remember), even before I understood what words like progressive and leftist meant. Therefore, I am inclined to be deeply suspicious of any arguments made that support right-wing, conservative, or neo-liberal ideology. What I hope to overcome in this study on a personal level is allowing room for facts, even those that support ideas I don't like, to be objectively true, and making sure to hold myself to an especially high standard in terms of having evidence for all my claims--not relying on logic. Additionally, reflexive thinking will be very important here, as I will need to evaluate myself for biases as well as rely on peer-review in order to catch potential points of bias or unfounded opinions that I missed.

While the research design intentionally allows for some flexibility by asking open-ended questions in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the data (Graebner et al. 2012), as well as including thematic analysis, which can be quite loose at a methodology (Bryman 2008, p. 578), there is a possibility that this open-endedness will lead to muddled themes and unhelpful conclusions. Recorded observations need to be specific, themes need to be clear, and overlaps between ideas need to be acknowledged so that this thesis doesn't fall into the trap of presenting a handful of blurry ideas that unintentionally blend together and offer no new knowledge.

The fact that it is a single source means that the sample may be too small to have far-reaching implications. By taking all of the data from a single source, it makes it difficult to claim that the data studied in this thesis is a representative sample of the whole of right-wing media in regards to healthcare. As acknowledged earlier in this section when describing the data, there is no delusion that these articles represent the sum total of right-wing opinions about the topic of healthcare. However, because the messaging on the right is so consistent, and because Bretibart articles often cite other right-wing news platforms, the hope is that this particular “case” will contribute to an increased understanding of the whole, illuminating patterns, arguments and techniques beyond these specific articles.

In terms of the redundancies in this data set in particular, one thing to take into consideration is authorship, with many articles being written by the same authors. For example, three of the most prolific authors on the site have written more than half the articles in the sample, in spite of an effort to choose articles beyond them. In order to combat this, clearly redundant articles were removed, as there were times when similar headlines and content were published on the same day discussing the same topic or event. In those cases, the article with either substantially more readership, or, if the readership was similar, the article with the author published less frequently in the set was used. The below pie chart illustrates how many articles were written by those three as opposed to all other authors.

% of Total Articles by Author

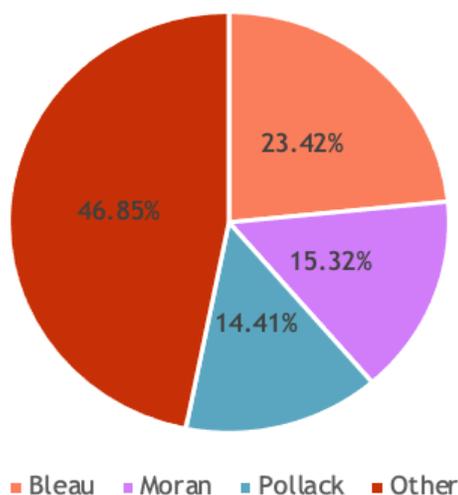


Fig. 2 Source: Appendix A

Lastly, this research design has been reviewed against the criteria for ethics in research by the Swedish Research Council. Since the data used was all from a public news platform, the potential for ethical problems is minimal. However, considering ethical implications and making sure to represent the data accurately is an important step in the process (Swedish Research Council 2020).

6. Analysis/Findings/Results

The central scope of my analysis was a qualitative study of the most common themes, as specified below.

6.1 Five Major Themes

6.1.1 Theme A: Universal Healthcare is Socialism; Democrats are Socialists

The most frequent theme appearing in these articles is the idea that universal healthcare is socialism, being pushed forward by radical leftists. Baked into this idea and the language is the assumption that socialism is bad, and anyone who supports these policies is intent on destroying the American “way of life,” an idea that is apparent even in the headlines, such as “Pollak: America Faces Left-wing Tyranny If Trump Loses in November” (Article 49³) and “GOP Rep. Buddy Carter: Georgia ‘Last Line of Defense Against Socialism’ in America” (Article 5).

This point of view is argued in 81 out of the 111 articles (see Appendix A and chart below), or roughly 73% of them. It is by far the most frequent argument, which makes sense because it’s also the oldest argument, going back to the 1940s and Truman’s fight for Universal Health Care after World War 2 (Schremmer & Knapp 2011).

³ See Appendix A for list of all Breitbart articles analyzed, including the ones cited within the text, referred to by number.

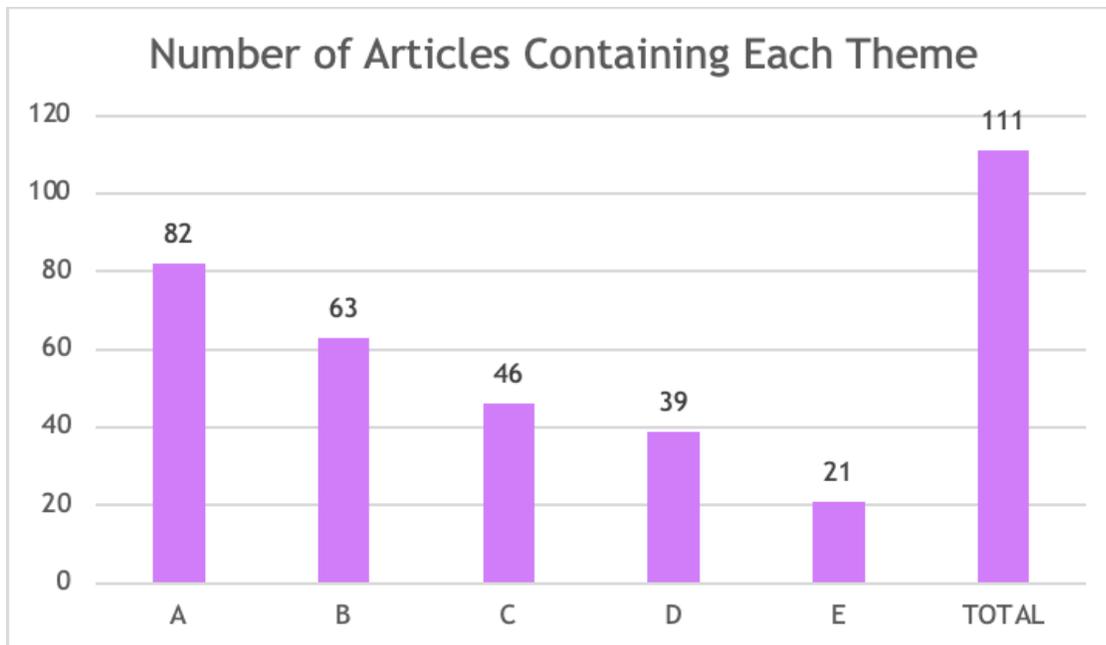


Fig. 3 Source: Appendix A

During the 2020 election cycle, much of this criticism was leveled at self-proclaimed socialist Bernie Sanders and fellow progressives such as Elizabeth Warren, using words like socialist and radical, such as the following article from January of 2020:

Socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders' (I-VT) radical agenda would effectively double the size of government with at least \$60 trillion in new spending, according to modest estimates. [...] Those three proposals only represent a portion of the costly proposals the socialist lawmaker has put forward on the campaign trail. Others agenda items include universal free child care, affordable housing, a raise in teacher salaries, and a guaranteed federal jobs program.
(Article 89)

Also baked into this idea is the sinister proposition that Democrats, even seemingly moderate ones, are dangerous radicals, with lines such as "Former Democrat Rep. Katie Hill (D-CA), in recent days, has exposed herself as a radical feminist leftist hellbent on taking down the president and maiming those who support him" (Article 99).

Whenever possible, the same accusation was leveled at Joe Biden, especially once he won the Democratic nomination:

Not only does the Biden-Sanders “Unity” Platform propose many of the same ideas Sanders campaigned on — even lifting language directly from the Sanders website — but Biden himself has begun using the same radical left-wing buzzwords that Sanders used in his campaign stump speeches.[...]On Friday, former congressman Phil Gramm noted in the Wall Street Journal that Biden had taken a hard left turn since securing his party’s nomination, adopting the socialist agenda of former rivals Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren. As a result, Gramm said, the election was no longer a referendum on Trump, but a referendum on the survival of America. (Article 36)

The way that the ‘problem’ of healthcare is represented in this theme is that, since things should either stay the way they are or go back to how they used to be, any progressive idea is dangerous. Therefore, the ‘problem’ is the idea of expanded healthcare itself, and those who present policies to that end. The ACA and MFA are just current examples, but any expansion of government healthcare is assumed to be a ‘problem.’ Within this theme, the idea of safety, nostalgia and an aversion to change is very present in the language. The very idea of change is problematized and seen as threatening.

There is also an assumption being made about those who read these articles, displayed especially in the silences. One of the silences is that the authors never, or only extremely rarely, come out and say that socialism is bad or that radical leftist policies are not good for the country. Instead, they assume (perhaps accurately) that their audience already agrees with these assessments. Thus, ‘radical,’ ‘leftist’ and ‘socialist’ are words leveled as insults, often without defining them as insults. Thus, in the quote above from Bleau, the ‘dangerous’ is implied in the silence.

As stated above, this argument dates back to 1947, when words like ‘socialism’ and ‘red menace’ were used effectively to frighten people into opposing the Truman plan; many of the targeted individuals already had genuine fears about the USSR taking over the world due to Cold

War rhetoric and thus were relatively easy to convince. The same language has been used for nearly 80 years, any time anyone, from either political party, proposes a policy that will expand government control, regulation, or oversight (and cut into profits from the private sector). It is used so frequently and so effectively that most Republicans in America have a negative view of the word “socialism” even if they don’t have a clear idea of what it means (Pew Research Center 2019).

Another major silence present in this theme is that of the failure of the US healthcare system to keep up with other wealthy countries. Health outcomes in the US are never discussed, thus allowing readers who hear this argument to potentially assume that the US is doing just fine and that there’s no room for improvement. After all, the US spends more than any other country on healthcare, so how could it not be #1?

6.1.2 Theme B: Universal Healthcare is Not Economically Feasible

Theme B is the idea that universal health coverage is not economically feasible, and those with plans to make it so are either lying or wrong. Secondly, that universal healthcare, which is available in every other ‘developed’ country and many developing ones, does not ‘work’ anywhere.

This is also quite an “old” argument, and goes hand in hand with Theme A, the idea that universal health care is a socialist menace. Here, though, that idea is expanded, so that any attempt at expanded coverage will raise taxes on the middle class in order to pay for the (implied: lazy, undeserving) poor. The disingenuousness of the math is quite apparent with this argument, as the authors who use it always conveniently forget that any tax increases in order to pay for expanded coverage will always result in less money out of people’s pockets, since health care (whether for insurance premiums, copayments, deductibles, or uncovered expenses) make up a huge portion of middle class spending. As well, even upper middle families can be bankrupted by a major illness.

There is also the matter of cost controls, which would be far easier to pass if the government was footing the bill for healthcare. For example, insulin prices in the US are five to ten times higher than in 32 other OECD countries (Mulcahy et al. 2020), all of which have some form of national health care and thus, the ability to control costs more effectively.

One of the more facets of Theme B is that it's essentially an economic argument, and yet it's rarely accompanied by any economic data. When there is data, it is often from questionable sources that themselves don't cite anything, (such as Fox News or right-wing talk radio). Regardless, it is an argument that's frequently made, appearing in over half of the articles surveyed, or 63 out of 111. Though this argument has its roots in the 1940s, (along with Theme A, comparing universal healthcare to socialism as a scare tactic), it took hold in the 1980s along with Reaganomics and the privatization boom (Quadagno 2005, pp. 142-149).

One of the key assumptions present in this theme is the idea that Americans are perfectly happy with their private health insurance (conveniently leaving out those who are uninsured, or the fact that they have nothing to compare it to) and so public healthcare is unnecessary, too expensive, and doesn't work. A delightfully sarcastic excerpt from this article summarizes this viewpoint:

To begin with, Americans are quite content with their private health insurance plans.

Secondly, MFA will bankrupt the country.

Actually, that's not true. MFA can't bankrupt the country anymore than a unicorn, because both are fantasies sprinkled with fairy dust by leprechauns waving Harry Potter's magic wand.

You see, there is this little thing we commoners call The Math. Warren, of course, as she proved with her DNA test, is impervious to The Math. But her blissful ignorance will never change the fact that The Math is still... The Math. (Article 103)

Others take a more serious tone, lamenting the cost of these plans and the radical left's inability to pay for them.

Sanders' radical agenda, however, comes with a hefty price tag — a point that has largely remained unaddressed throughout Sanders' presidential campaign. While the presidential hopeful has lightly addressed the costs of some of his individual proposals, such as Medicare for All, which he admitted will result in tax hikes on middle class Americans, he has yet to release a comprehensive analysis on how

much all of his proposals, combined, will grow the federal government in terms of size and spending. (Article 89)

When confronted with the evidence that universal healthcare is present and functioning in every other developed country. One article recounts this exchange between an MSNBC host Ali Velshi and Georgia Congressional Representative Buddy Carter:

Velshi pointed out how universal healthcare is “not at all a liberal concept” nor a “socialist concept,” and it works in many countries around the world.

Carter responded by saying the concept “doesn’t work” no matter where it came from.

“It’s a concept that doesn’t work,” the Republican from Georgia stated. “And all you have to do is look into those countries that have it right now, and you’ll see that they are not getting the type of healthcare that we get here in America. If you’re sick anywhere in the world where you want to be is the United States of America because we have the best healthcare system in the world. We have access to prescription medications that those countries that you speak of don’t have access to. That’s the kind of thing that we’re talking about here when we talk about socialized medicine when we talk about Medicare for All.” (Article 61)

Other authors are more direct, such as Pollack (Article 45), who states that “[t]hese are “solutions” that have never worked, anywhere in the world.” Of course, proving a lack of something is often impossible, and therefore these articles don’t attempt to “prove” their claims that universal healthcare “doesn’t work.” However, with study after study showing that US health outcomes are worse than all other developed countries, it is hard to take that argument seriously, or believe that it’s made in good faith.

There are a few other major assumptions in Theme B. Possibly the most interesting one is that universal healthcare is a great idea in theory but just not practical, because of the cost. So unlike Theme A, expanded healthcare isn’t assumed to be a threat or an undesirable outcome, but rather

a pipedream akin to wishing we could fly. This is represented by an almost wistful attitude, sometimes sarcastic like comparing Elizabeth Warren’s plan to “buying a unicorn” (Article 104) but sometimes sounding almost earnest, admitting that thinking about MFA “ease[s] the stress of the real world” (Article 83) even whilst disapproving of it.

Another assumption present in this theme is economic: the cost of universal healthcare is too high, the logic goes, based on what the US (which includes the government, employers, and individuals/families combined) currently spends on healthcare. As we know, there are many countries that spend less money than the US on healthcare with far better health outcomes (Tikkanen & Abrams 2020; Kurani et al. 2020; Merelli 2017). This argument ignores the fact that putting the government in charge of paying would also mean that the government is in a much stronger position to enforce cost controls.

The last important assumption is that no other country has a universal healthcare system that “works.” Within this assumption are several smaller ones: that Americans have never traveled to another wealthy country for long enough to experience or witness their systems, that Americans do not know about study after study such as Schneider et al. (2021) that shows how relatively poor America fares next to countries with universal healthcare.

Thus, the silences are the most important part of this argument: ignoring the economic realities of what healthcare costs under a universal system, as well as health outcomes of every other high-income country. Or, attributing the disparity to something unrelated to healthcare such as red wine or olive oil (Bamat 2015; Spector 2015).

6.1.3 Theme C: Expanded Coverage Equals Losses

Theme C, that Expanded Coverage actually equals people losing insurance, and freedom, and choices, is a bit hard to follow since it doesn’t seem to follow the rules of logic. This paper will attempt to break it down. It goes like this: expanding access to healthcare will actually mean people losing coverage, in the following ways:

1. If the private insurance industry is damaged, (which it obviously will be by any health care expansion, that’s a fairly sound prediction), then all the people who lose their jobs will actually lose the health insurance that they have now through their employers. The

fact that they will be covered by the expanded universal plans apparently doesn't factor into the argument, the issue is that their insurance will be different, which is seen as a loss, even if their new coverage is more generous. Statement such as this one serve as the basis for this argument: "More than 1.2 million healthcare jobs are at risk under Medicare for All, according to a study released Monday. [...] The study found that Medicare for All could have a devastating effect on America's [sic] healthcare workforce, which could reduce the number of physicians by 44,693 by 2050 relative to current projections" (Article 90).

2. If the government offers low-cost or free health care, then everyone will want that (this seems like it could be true so far), which will mean private insurers will be "undercut" and priced into extinction (also seems reasonable), which is *bad* (this is where it breaks down a bit) because that means fewer choices "Biden will expand Obamacare and move toward 'Medicare for All' — an *'option' that will soon crowd out all other choices*" (emphasis added) (Article 45). This argument may be poetry, but it makes little sense. Private insurers being put out of business because the government offers better and cheaper coverage is in no way a "loss." Losing a bad choice because a much better one (in this case "better" being judged by people hypothetically wanting it because it saves them money) is not a loss. The ability of right-wing authors to frame it as a loss is staggering, such as the following excerpt: "Debate moderate (sic) and Fox News anchor Chris Wallace noted President Donald Trump and other Republicans contend that a public option would eventually eliminate private health insurance and lead to a government-run healthcare system. [...] Healthcare experts such as Sally Pipes, the president of the Pacific Research Institute, contend that a public insurance option competing alongside private insurance would eventually crowd out private health insurance because government-run insurance could run on a 'loss indefinitely'" (Article 20).
3. Government health care may be cheaper and more expansive, but the quality will suffer. This argument comes from another disproven idea, which is that private, profit-motivated companies always do things better than governments. In this case, no data supports that claim and in fact proves the opposite (Scheider et al. 2021).

“Running on a loss” is exactly the reason why government-sponsored healthcare is necessary. Because a successful healthcare system is not synonymous with earning profits. As we know, profit-based healthcare in the United States has worse outcomes than systems run by governments (Scheider et al. 2021). These systems are all universally cheaper, by a substantial amount, as proven time and time again (Tikkanen & Abrams 2020; Kurani et al. 2020; Merelli 2017) - but *cheaper* is not the same as *profitable*. And *profitable* is not the same as *good*. This all goes back to the contention by Christiansen (2017) and Quadagno (2005, p. 16) that private interests and the need for a profit within the US healthcare sector is in fact the primary reason for its dysfunction.

The problem in Theme C is framed as a fear: expanding access to and availability of publicly funded healthcare will lead to the private insurance market crumbling. The biggest assumption in this framing lies in the ‘problem’ itself: that employer-based or private healthcare is better than any government plan. Another assumption is that even if there’s a government plan that is cheaper and more comprehensive than private insurance, a loss of the “choice” to have that more expensive and worse private insurance would be an overall loss, because now you do not have the freedom to choose.

Like Theme B, this theme is tied to the neo-liberal policies of the Reagan administration that continued throughout the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s that said that private is always better than public, and that all government intervention is undesirable (Harvey 2007).

It should also be noted that, along with Theme A, this theme carries with it the unspoken concept of path dependency: that any changes to the status quo will be negative and are to be feared. The language of fear of change, whether used intentionally or reflecting the authors’ genuine anxieties, is present constantly in both themes.

6.1.4 Theme D: Democrats Are Fractured and Less Liberal Than They Claim

Theme D is, quite interestingly, in almost direct opposition to Theme A. Theme D argues that Democrats are actually not liberal *enough*, or not liberal at all, and exaggerates the splits and disagreements within the party. It is most often leveled at Biden and other “moderates,” but sometimes crops up as an insult against self-described progressives as well.

This is not so much an argument against expanded health care as much as it's intended to show discord and hypocrisy amongst the Democratic party. Usually, it serves to pit Joe Biden against the more progressive wing of the party, emphasizing and exaggerating any disagreements. The theme seems to have a few purposes. 1, to paint fractures and problems within the Democratic party as a sign of weakness, thus encouraging conservatives to keep the "fighting spirit" because the Democrats can easily be defeated. This kind of morale-boasting is especially common in an election year, and common amongst left-leaning media as well, celebrating every positive poll or perceived loss by the "other side." 2, to convince any potential moderates or liberals who may be reading that their candidate is not as liberal as he claims to be (and is therefore disingenuous at best, a liar at worst).

This argument is used in 38 of the 111 articles, or about one third of them and often takes a slightly patronizing tone, feigning concern for the poor, broken Democratic party and especially the sad progressives who get sold up the river or left out in the cold by corporate shells:

Biden, who has struggled to make inroads with his party's left wing, was asked during an interview with a local Fox affiliate in Wisconsin if he was concerned about recent claims President Donald Trump made alleging the Democrat ticket is a "trojan horse" for more radical elements of the progressive movement.[...] "I beat the socialist," Biden responded. "That's how I got elected. That's how I got the nomination. Do I look like a socialist? Look at my career, my whole career. I am not a socialist." The former vice president's comments immediately struck some on the left as alienating, given the partisan divides that were exhibited during the Democrat primaries. (Article 28)

Even the headlines serve to illustrate this theme, such as: "Joe Biden Ditches Bernie Bros at Debate: Denounces Medicare for All, Defund the Police, Green New Deal" (Article 23). Within the same article is a reference to healthcare policy, saying, "On healthcare, Biden seemingly took a veiled shot at Medicare for All, a fixture of progressive Democrats' agenda during the Democrat presidential primary. Fending off concerns about Medicare for All, Biden said 'Right now, I am the Democratic Party.'" "

Often, the tone of the articles is almost sympathetic to progressives, making statements such as, “Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) blasted ‘corporate Democrats’ for rejecting far-left policies in the wake of their losses in the U.S. House of Representatives, reflecting the bitter divide between Democrats as moderate members blame far-left proposals for their party’s defeats” (Article 8). Though that may sound like the author is taking the side of Senator Sanders, let’s not forget some of her other headlines from the same election cycle:

“Ex-Obama Administration Official: Warren’s Medicare for All Like Trying to ‘Buy a Unicorn’ with a Unicorn.” (Article 104)

“Bernie Sanders’ Radical Agenda Would Double Government Size, Increase Spending by over \$60 Trillion.” (Article 89)

“NY Post Editorial Board Shreds Bernie Sanders’ ‘Magic Math’: ‘Pay with Unicorn Dust.’” (Article 69)

The ‘problem’ within this theme is largely the idea that Democrats, especially moderate ones, are liars and hypocrites who claim to care about progressives ideals but actually don’t. The main assumption here is one of corruptibility. Politicians may say that they have ideals, but actually they can easily be bought by corporate special interests and will always sell out “the people” they are supposed to represent for more power. Also, even though the “progressive ideals” that these candidates claim to care about are in direct opposition to what the authors support (as evidenced by Theme A), the fact that they are hypocritical is problematized.

This theme seems to be related to the “tu quoque” logical fallacy, sometimes also described as “both-side-ism.” If we can convince people that no politicians have morals strong enough to withstand greed and corporate interests, then none of them will be expected to do so. This is especially important in right-wing messaging because corporate money, special interests and catering to corporate profits over constituents is just as prevalent, if not more, amongst Republicans than Democrats. Therefore, if they can convince readers that everyone suffers from the same greed, then no politicians will be expected to stand up to private interests (such as pharmaceutical companies, or private health insurers) for the benefit of the public. It is a common rhetorical technique often utilized by the far right: acting as if the worst of our impulses are just expected behavior so that we will not question it (Snyder 2017, p. 65, p. 70).

6.1.5 Theme E: Expanding Government Healthcare Means an Unwieldy Bureaucracy

Theme E contends that expanding government healthcare would mean a large, unwieldy, inefficient bureaucracy. It is perhaps one of the more verifiable arguments, if only because sometimes governments do have unwieldy bureaucracies. It would be hard to claim that I've never had the thought that "things could be more efficient" when in line at the DMV or the Post Office. The government agencies people interact with most often, like the IRS, do seem slow and inefficient. However, let's not pretend that large corporations are immune from exactly the same criticism. Anyone American who has tried to call a private insurance company or change their cable billing address knows exactly how frustrating and inefficient it can be: right on par with government agencies.

This argument is an effective one, though, if only because many people have experience sitting in the DMV or trying to get an answer from the IRS. It appears in a notable number of the articles, about 21 out of 111 or 19%.

So headlines such as "Bernie Sanders' Radical Agenda Would Double Government Size, Increase Spending by over \$60 Trillion" (Article 89) don't seem to be problematic at face value. The problem in Theme E lies in the unspoken implications: for example that any increase in government is bad, and that it's not possible for governments to be efficient or compassionate. They will often quote any evidence, no matter how slim, of government waste. Even if their evidence is simply someone's unsubstantiated claim, such as "Sen. Daines spoke during a Senate Finance Committee hearing Wednesday on complying with Medicaid eligibility. The Montana Republican senator noted that the federal government loses tens of billions of dollars every year due to waste, fraud, and abuse" (Article 107).

Theme C pointed to potential job losses in the health insurance sector, if public healthcare access was expanded. So doesn't it make sense, therefore, that some of these losses should be offset by more government positions? Government positions which would likely come with pensions and security that is extremely rare in the private sector. Another example: a government employee reviewing a claim would have a lot less motivation to deny someone life-saving surgeries to save a few dollars the way private companies often do (Quadagno 2005, p. 1).

However, any increase in government services, says Theme E, is an increase in government bureaucracy, which is always a negative thing and will always result in decreased efficiency and worse service.

The biggest assumption here is that large companies, such as health insurance companies, are immune from the inefficiency and unwieldy bureaucracy that plagues government agencies, a claim that is simply not possible to prove. Yes, there are times when government bureaucracy can be slow and frustrating to deal with. But so can any corporation.

6.2 Three Sub-Themes

There were three sub-themes that were not emphasized as much as the major themes above, but did factor in. A brief overview of each follows.

6.2.1 Sub-Theme F: Republicans Make Things Cheaper

In 26 of the 111 articles surveyed, or about 23%, the authors made a claim that health care was cheaper under Republican administrations, that Republican policies (both Trump in particular and Republicans in general), save people money. If by “people,” they mean the super wealthy, then that’s an accurate argument. However, it is doubtful that that’s what they mean, or that that’s how their readers will interpret it. It is difficult to speculate on the veracity of this claim though, since not one of the 26 articles containing this argument provided any sort of evidence to back it up.

6.2.2 Sub-Theme G: Your Tax Dollars Will Pay for Baby Murder

Democrats want to use *your* tax dollars to pay for health care for illegal immigrants and abortion, and sometimes other liberal conspiracies thrown in like gender confirmation surgeries for trans people.

This argument is basic fearmongering. Your money will be used for something you are supposed to be morally against, such as abortions. In this election cycle, the issue of Democratic candidates claiming that their proposed health care plans would cover undocumented immigrants was also thrown into the same argument, with the assumption that anyone reading would be horrified by that but never explaining why they should be. From a public health perspective, of

course, it makes complete sense to cover undocumented immigrants. Why would you want any percentage of the population, no matter how small it might be, to be motivated to go untreated for illnesses, especially contagious ones. The covid-19 pandemic has really poked holes in this argument, showing how important it is for a community to make sure that everyone has access to safe and affordable healthcare.

However, this didn't stop the authors from using it in 12 of 111 articles, or just under 11%. It should be noted, in the Breitbart authors' defense, that the illegal immigrant argument wasn't used much after COVID-19 became widespread. After March or April, almost all instances of this argument focused on abortion, with the occasional pearl-clutching about gender confirmation surgery thrown in as well.

Biden joins Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT), Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), and South Bend, Indiana, Mayor Pete Buttigieg — among other 2020 Democrats — in committing to forcing American taxpayers to pay for healthcare for illegal aliens who arrive in the U.S.

Already, due to loopholes, American taxpayers are spending nearly \$20 billion every year to provide illegal aliens with subsidized healthcare, emergency room visits, and other health services.

(Article 4)

6.2.3 Sub-Theme H: Your Taxes Will Go Up to Pay For Expanded Healthcare

This argument is a false dichotomy that goes along with Theme B. Bernie Sanders repeatedly explains that while government spending *and* taxes will go up under his proposed Medicare for All plan, these costs would be offset by the much-lowered costs of healthcare due to stricter regulations, price controls, and expanded coverage. In other words: people may be paying more in taxes, and thus the government might spend more per capita, but out of pocket costs for individuals and families would decrease dramatically.

The articles in Theme H either fail to grasp the math of what he's saying, or pretend to fail, because this theme is the ongoing claim that "your taxes will go up, full stop." There is never any

mention of costs going down or coverage expanding, with the language around the theme exemplified here:

“The only way to fund such a massive government expansion would be dramatic tax increases on small businesses and ordinary Americans, hurting the economy and reducing job opportunities” (Article 74).

6.3 Connections, Correlations and Patterns

Most of the articles in the data set (94 out of 111, or 85%) contained two or more of the established themes. What this shows is that these themes are often working in tandem, even when they seem to be contradictory. For example, in 20 of the 111 articles, Themes A and D were both present, in spite of being opposite arguments. What this seems to suggest is that, at least for these 20 articles, the authors are using a “throw spaghetti at the wall to see what sticks” approach, rather than trying to prove their case in a logical way.

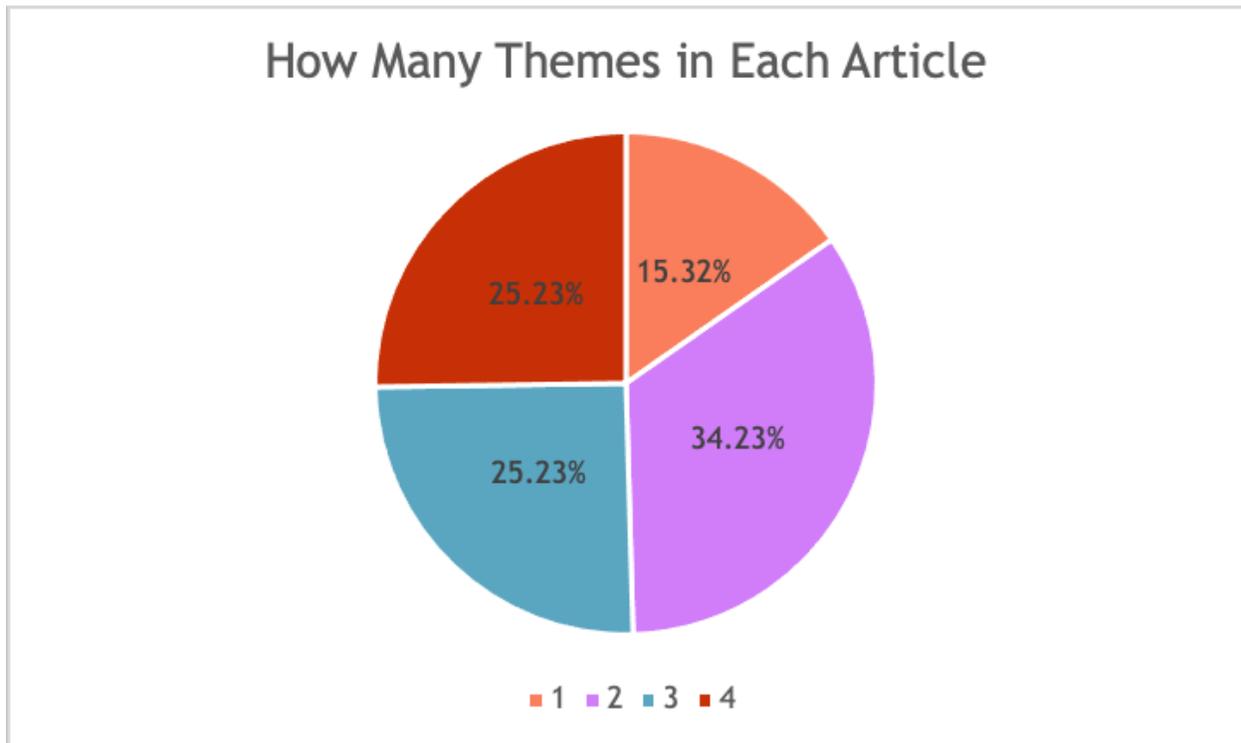


Fig. 4 Source: Appendix A

7. Conclusion

This paper has been an examination of the way healthcare policies, especially policies meant to expand access to publicly funded coverage, are represented in right-wing media. The goal of the paper was to answer the following research question:

How are policies which expand access to government-backed healthcare (such as Medicare for All and the Affordable Care Act) represented in right-wing US media?

To that end, a case study was performed using a selection of 111 articles from the right-wing website Breitbart News. All of the articles selected met the following criteria:

1. They were published during the 2020 US presidential election cycle from September 2019 through December 2020.
2. The content was related to the ideas of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), Medicare For All (MFA), or the ideas of universal or single-payer healthcare in general.
3. The articles presented some kind of opinion or argument in opposition to those plans. (It should be noted that amongst the over 350 articles considered for this case study, none of them offered a positive opinion on expanded public healthcare).

Within these bounds, a qualitative study was performed using some quantitative data to code and track the major recurring themes.

The most common theme, witnessed in over 70% of the articles, was the contention that Democrats, especially self-proclaimed progressive ones, are dangerous, radical socialists who want to destroy the American way of life. This thirst for destruction was never explained nor quantified, but simply pointed at as a reason to be afraid and to reject Democrats at all costs. Other important themes included: a longstanding claim that universal healthcare of any kind is simply not economically feasible; the contention that expanded government healthcare options would cause major losses in both jobs and people insured through their jobs, by crippling the private healthcare sector; the seemingly contradictory claim that Democrats are actually less progressive than they claim to be and easily corrupted by greed, and finally that any healthcare expansion would lead to a massive, undesirable and unwieldy government bureaucracy.

All together, these themes represent a group of ideas that are at times contradictory and at times things that are either impossible to substantiate or ideas that have been widely disproven. Regardless of the quality of the claims, there are a substantial number of people who are harmed by this outlook. This includes anyone who is currently suffering under the current healthcare system. For example: people who don't qualify for government insurance but also can't afford their own out of pocket (this is often people who are employed part time, or people who work for small companies, as independent contractors, or in fields like food service or agriculture), and people who have crushing medical bills from a past or ongoing illness.

The overarching conclusion is that if we want to advance any kind of progressive healthcare policies, we need to understand how the right-wing is representing the healthcare “problem” in the US. Without that understanding, we are not going to be able to argue against it.

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Appendix A

#	Headline	Date	Link	Author	MAJOR THEMES							SUB-THEMES			
					A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total		
1	Joe Biden Falsely Boasts About Getting GOP Votes for Obamacare	14-Dec-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2019/12/14/joe-biden-falsely-boasts-about-getting-gop-votes-for-obamacare/	Alic	1	1						1			3
2	Price & Ortiz: Striking Down Obamacare Would Open a Path to Better, More Affordable Health Care	12-Dec-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/12/12/price-ortiz-striking-down-obamacare-would-open-a-path-to-better-more-affordable-health-care/	Breitbart News	1	1				1					4
3	Jon Ossoff to Fundraise with Pro-Medicare for All Elizabeth Warren	8-Dec-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/12/08/jon-ossoff-to-fundraise-with-gop-medicare-for-all-elizabeth-warren/	Moran	1	1	1								3
4	Joe Biden Vows to Give Taxpayer-Funded Obamacare to All Illegal Aliens in U.S.	6-Dec-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/12/06/joe-biden-vows-to-give-taxpayer-funded-obamacare-to-all-illegal-alien-in-us/	Binder	1	1					1				3
5	GOP Rep. Buddy Carter: Georgia 'Last Line of Defense Against Socialism' in America	5-Dec-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/12/05/gop-rep-buddy-carter-georgia-last-line-of-defense-against-socialism-in-america/	Morris	1										1
6	Crenshaw: 'Public Option Is Simply a Slow Roll to Medicare for All'	19-Nov-20	https://www.breitbart.com/opins/2020/11/19/crenshaw-public-option-is-simply-a-slow-roll-to-medicare-for-all/	Hanchett	1		1								2
7	Nolte: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Complains About 'Too Many Healthcare Choices'	16-Nov-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/12/16/nolte-alexandria-ocasio-cortez-complains-about-too-many-healthcare-choices/	Nolte	1	1	1		1						5
8	Bernie Sanders Blasts 'Corporate Democrats' for Rejecting Far-Left Policies: 'They Are Dead Wrong'	12-Nov-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/11/12/bernie-sanders-blasts-corporate-democrats-rejecting-far-left-policies-dead-wrong/	Bleau					1						1
9	Sanders: Medicare for All, Green New Deal Are 'Popular' — Dems Need to Do Better 'Speaking to Working Families'	11-Nov-20	https://www.breitbart.com/opins/2020/11/11/sanders-medicare-for-all-green-new-deal-are-popular-dems-need-to-do-better-speaking-to-working-families/	Hanchett					1						1
10	Bernie Tells Squad: 'Electing Biden Is Not the End-All, It Is the Beginning'	30-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/30/bernie-tells-squad-electing-biden-is-not-the-end-all-it-is-the-beginning/	Bleau	1				1						2
11	Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Wolf: ACB's Confirmation 'Attack on Affordable Care Act' and Abortion	29-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/29/pennsylvania-gov-tom-wolf-acbs-confirmation-attack-on-affordable-care-act-and-abortion/	Berry	1								1		2
12	Fact Check: Joe Biden Claims Obamacare Didn't Cause Americans to Lose Their Health Insurance	22-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/22/biden-claims-obamacare-didnt-cause-americans-lose-insurance/	Moran	1		1								2
13	Schumer on Medicare for All under a Dem Majority: 'We'll 'Find the Strongest Thing That Gets the Most Votes'	22-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/opins/2020/10/22/schumer-on-medicare-for-all-under-a-dem-majority-well-find-the-strongest-thing-that-gets-the-most-votes/	Hanchett	1										1
14	Exclusive—CL Gray, MD, Robert Campbell, MD: President Trump's Revolutionary Plan for Fixing American Healthcare	22-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/health/2020/10/22/exclusive-cl-gray-md-robert-campbell-md-president-trumps-revolutionary-plan-for-fixing-american-healthcare/	Gray and Campbell	1	1			1	1					4
15	Parker: Patients Need a Dose of Free Market Innovation	20-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/economy/2020/10/20/parker-patients-need-a-dose-of-free-market-innovation/	Breitbart News (Parker)						1		1			2
16	Obamacare Premiums Drop for Third Year in a Row Under Trump	20-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/20/obamacare-premiums-drop-for-third-year-in-a-row-under-trump/	Moran		1	1		1						4
17	Kansas Democrat Barbara Bollier's First Donation Made to Planned Parenthood	17-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/17/kansas-democrat-barbara-bollier-first-donation-made-to-planned-parenthood/	Berry	1								1		2
18	Joe Biden Vows to 'Pass Legislation Making Roe the Law of the Land'	7-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/07/joe-biden-vows-to-pass-legislation-making-roe-the-law-of-the-land/	Berry	1								1		2
19	Kansas Democrat Barbara Bollier Supported Tele-Abortion, Rejected Expanded Telemedicine During Pandemic	5-Oct-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/10/05/kansas-democrat-barbara-bollier-supported-tele-abortion-rejected-expanded-telemedicine-during-pandemic/	Berry	1						1				3

#	Headline	Date	Link	Author	MAJOR THEMES						SUB-THEMES				
					A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total		
20	Fact Check: Joe Biden Misleads About Scope of Government-Run Public Option	30-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/09/30/fact-check-joe-biden-misleads-about-scope-of-government-run-public-option/	Moran	1	1				1					3
21	Fact Check: Joe Biden Claims Trump Wanted to Repeal Obamacare from 'Day One'	29-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/09/29/fact-check-joe-biden-claims-trump-wanted-to-repeal-obamacare-from-day-one/	Moran		1					1				3
22	Fact Check: Joe Biden Said Trump Did 'Nothing to Help Small Businesses' During Pandemic	29-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/09/29/fact-check-joe-biden-trump-nothing-to-help-small-businesses-pandemic/	Berry	1	1				1					4
23	Joe Biden Ditches Bernie Bros at Debate: Denounces Medicare for All, Defund the Police, Green New Deal	29-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/09/29/joe-biden-ditches-bernie-bros-debate-denounces-medicare-for-all-defund-police-green-new-deal/	Binder				1							1
24	Sean Parnell: 'Conor Lamb's Healthcare Spin Reeks of 'Desperation'	28-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/09/28/sean-pannell-conor-lamb-healthcare-spin-reeks-desperation/	Moran	1	1				1					4
25	Trump 'America First Health Care Plan' Emphasizes Patient 'Choice,' 'Control'	24-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/09/24/trump-america-first-health-care-plan-emphasizes-patient-choice-control/	Berry		1	1			1					4
26	President Trump Vows to Cover Preexisting Conditions with America First Health Care Plan	24-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/09/24/president-trump-vows-to-cover-preexisting-conditions-with-america-first-health-care-plan/	Spiering		1	1			1					4
27	Ortiz & Price: Trump's Personalized Medicine Vision Is the Clear Choice for Voters	24-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/09/24/ortiz-price-trumps-personalized-medicine-vision-is-the-clear-choice-for-voters/	Ortiz and Price	1	1				1					3
28	Joe Biden Takes Inadvertent Swipe at Bernie Sanders: 'I Beat the Socialist'	22-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/09/22/joe-biden-takes-inadvertent-swipe-at-bernie-sanders-i-beat-the-socialist/	Alic	1			1							2
29	Fact Check: No, Biden, Obamacare Not Working for Americans	12-Sep-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/09/12/fact-check-no-biden-obamacare-not-working-for-americans/	Moran		1	1			1			1		5
30	DCCC Chair Cheri Bustos: GOP on 'Defense' for Pushing for Obamacare Repeal	26-Aug-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/08/26/dccc-chair-cheri-bustos-gop-defense-pushing-obamacare-repeal/	Moran		1	1			1					3
31	Fact Check: Joe Biden Claims GOP Voted to 'Cut' Pre-Existing Condition Protections	18-Aug-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/08/18/fact-check-joe-biden-claims-gop-voted-to-cut-pre-existing-condition-protections/	Moran				1			1				2
32	Obamacare's Democrat Defender Sen. Gary Peters Enjoys 'Gold-Plated, Taxpayer-Paid Health Insurance'	14-Aug-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/08/14/obamacares-democrat-defender-sen-gary-peters-enjoys-gold-plated-taxpayer-paid-health-insurance/	Bleau		1			1						3
33	New York Times Calls Kamala Harris a 'Pragmatic Moderate,' Without Evidence	11-Aug-20	https://www.breitbart.com/the-media/2020/08/11/new-york-times-calls-kamala-harris-a-pragmatic-moderate-without-evidence/	Pollak	1										1
34	Kamala Harris: Most Liberal Senator, Backed Green New Deal, 'Medicare for All'	11-Aug-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/08/11/kamala-harris-4th-most-liberal-senator-backed-green-new-deal-medicare-for-all/	Pollak	1										1
35	Biden Risks Alienating Key Constituencies with Running Mate Choice	8-Aug-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/08/08/biden-risks-alienating-key-constituencies-with-running-mate-choice/	Alic	1			1							2
36	Pollak: Is There Any Difference Left Between Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders?	31-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/07/31/pollak-is-there-any-difference-left-between-joe-biden-and-bernie-sanders/	Pollak	1	1				1					3
37	Marky: Biden Will 'Match' 'FDR Moment' Where We Need to 'Think Big' on Things Like Medicare for All and Green New Deal	30-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/clips/2020/07/30/marky-biden-will-match-fdr-moment-where-we-need-to-think-big-on-things-like-medicare-for-all-and-green-new-deal/	Hanchett	1										1
38	Ex-Sanders Campaign Chair: Voting for Biden Is Comparable to Eating a 'Bowl of Sh*t'	27-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/07/27/ex-sanders-campaign-chair-voting-for-biden-is-comparable-to-eating-a-bowl-of-shit/	Alic				1							1

APPENDIX A - BREITBART ARTICLES		MAJOR THEMES										SUB-THEMES		
#	Headline	Date	Link	Author	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total	
39	Hundreds of Sanders Delegates Planning Convention Revolt over Medicare for All	27-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/07/27/hundreds-of-sanders-delegates-planning-convention-revolt-over-medicare-for-all/	Alic			1						1	
40	Pinkerton: The Republican Party of Cops, Nurses, and Other Workers—All Together	18-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/07/18/pinkerton-the-republican-party-of-cops-nurses-and-other-workers-all-together/	Pinkerton	1			1		1			4	
41	Rand Paul: 'Obamacare Is Still with Us Because of Republicans'	18-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/clips/2020/07/18/rand-paul-obamacare-is-still-with-us-because-of-republicans/	Poor		1				1			2	
42	Jim Bognet: 'Despicable' Matt Cartwright Would Try to Fool Voters with Fake Website on Obamacare	15-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/07/15/jim-bognet-despicable-matt-cartwright-would-try-to-fool-voters-with-fake-website-on-obamacare/	Moran	1	1							2	
43	Joe Biden Vows to Reverse Supreme Court on Religious Exemptions in Obamacare	9-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/health/2020/07/09/joe-biden-vows-to-reverse-supreme-court-on-religious-exemptions-in-obamacare/	Pollak	1						1		2	
44	Little Sisters of the Poor Win at Supreme Court; Religious Freedom Trumps Obamacare	8-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/fair/2020/07/08/little-sisters-of-the-poor-win-at-supreme-court-religious-freedom-trumps-obamacare/	Pollak	1					1			2	
45	Pollak: An Economic Message for Trump — 'Finish What We Started'	8-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/economy/2020/07/08/pollak-an-economic-message-for-trump-finish-what-we-started/	Pollak	1		1						2	
46	NRSC: Steve Bullock Healthcare Plan Would Close Rural Montana Hospitals	7-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/07/07/nrsc-steve-bullock-healthcare-plan-would-close-rural-montana-hospitals/	Moran	1	1	1			1			4	
47	Ex-Sanders Aide Lambasts Joe Biden's VP Search: Progressives 'Need Not Apply'	3-Jul-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/07/03/ex-sanders-aide-lambasts-joe-bidens-vice-presidential-search-progressives-need-not-apply/	Alic				1					1	
48	Planned Parenthood: Free Birth Control to Counter 'Systemic Racism'	24-Jun-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/06/24/planned-parenthood-free-birth-control-to-counter-systemic-racism/	Berry	1						1		2	
49	Pollak: America Faces Left-wing Tyranny If Trump Loses in November	16-Jun-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/06/16/pollak-america-faces-totalitarian-rule-if-trump-loses-election-in-november-2020/	Pollak	1				1				2	
50	Pollak: Joe Biden's History of Division	14-Jun-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/06/14/pollak-joe-bidens-history-of-division/	Pollak			1			1			3	
51	Bernie Sanders Uses Protests to Demand Medicare for All, Transformation of Energy System	4-Jun-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/06/04/bernie-sanders-uses-protests-to-demand-for-medicare-for-all-transformation-of-energy-system/	Bleau	1								1	
52	Donald Trump Announces Medicare Plans to Provide Diabetic Seniors with Cheaper Insulin	26-May-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/05/26/donald-trump-announces-medicare-plans-to-provide-diabetic-seniors-with-cheaper-insulin/	Spiering						1			1	
53	Hillary Clinton: Coronavirus 'Would Be a Terrible Crisis to Waste'; Need 'Universal Health Care'	28-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/health/2020/04/28/hillary-clinton-coronavirus-would-be-a-terrible-crisis-to-waste-need-universal-health-care/	Pollak	1				1				2	
54	Blue State Blues: Joe Biden Keeps Socialism on the Ballot	24-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/04/24/blue-state-blues-joe-biden-keeps-socialism-on-the-ballot/	Pollak	1	1							2	
55	'Make America Healthy Again': Dr. Nicole Saphier Explains How a Healthier America Starts at Home, Not Washington	23-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/radio/2020/04/23/make-america-healthy-again-dr-nicole-saphier-explains-how-a-healthier-america-starts-at-home-not-washington/	Krychuk	1	1	1						3	
56	Actress Ashley Judd Promotes NARAL Campaign Targeting Pro-Life Lockdown Protesters	22-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/entertainment/2020/04/22/actress-ashley-judd-promotes-abortion-campaign-targeting-pro-life-lockdown-protesters/	Berry	1						1		2	
57	Bernie Sanders' Political Movement Not Sold on Biden Despite Endorsement	13-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/04/13/bernie-sanders-political-movement-not-sold-on-biden-despite-endorsement/	Alic				1					1	

APPENDIX A - BREITBART ARTICLES			MAJOR THEMES										SUB-THEMES			
#	Headline	Date	Link	Author	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total			
58	From Cardo B to Fidel Castro: 12 Top Moments in Bernie's Heart- Stopping Failed Campaign	8-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/04/08/from-cardo-b-to-fidel-castro-12-top-moments-in-bernie-heart-stopping-failed-campaign/	Bleau	1	1		1					3			
59	Pollak: Bernie Sanders Moved Democrats, Including Joe Biden, to the Far Left	8-Apr-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/04/08/pollak-bernie-sanders-moved-democrats-including-joe-biden-to-the-far-left/	Pollak	1	1							2			
60	Barack Obama Rallies Support for Obamacare During Coronavirus Crisis	23-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/03/23/barack-obama-rallies-support-for-obamacare-during-coronavirus-crisis/	Spiering	1	1		1		1			4			
61	GOP Rep. Carter: 'We Have the Best Healthcare System in the World'	22-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/clips/2020/03/22/gop-rep-carter-we-have-the-best-healthcare-system-in-the-world/	Baker	1	1	1						3			
62	Nolte: Left's Pet Issues Like Mass Transit, Reusable Bags Prove Deadly During Coronavirus Crisis	16-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/03/16/nolte-mass-transit-reusable-bags-and-other-leftist-deas-coronavirus-reveals-as-deadly/	Nolte	1		1						2			
63	Coronavirus: Bernie Sanders Predicts 'Demand for Universal Health Care Will Only Go Up'	13-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/03/13/bernie-sanders-predicts-demand-for-universal-health-care-will-only-go-up-as-coronavirus-unfolds/	Bleau	1								1			
64	Fact Check: No, South Korea is Not Beating Coronavirus thru 'Medicare for All'	12-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/health/2020/03/12/fact-check-no-south-korea-no-beating-coronavirus-thru-medicare-for-all-ao/	Pollak	1	1	1						3			
65	Pollak: Barack Obama Never Learned Anything from Obamacare's Failures	10-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/03/10/pollak-barack-obama-never-learned-anything-from-obamacare-failures/	Pollak	1	1	1	1	1				6			
66	Bernie Sanders Uses Coronavirus Outbreak to Push Vision for Medicare for All	9-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/03/09/bernie-sanders-uses-coronavirus-outbreak-to-push-vision-for-medicare-for-all/	Bleau	1	1	1						3			
67	Poll: Americans Unsure What 'Medicare for All' Means for America	2-Mar-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/03/02/poll-americans-unsure-what-medicare-for-all-means-for-america/	Moran	1								1			
68	Clyburn: You Need Incremental Process with a Public Option to Get Medicare for All	29-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/clips/2020/02/29/clyburn-you-need-incremental-process-with-a-public-option-to-get-medicare-for-all/	Hanchett				1					2			
69	NY Post Editorial Board Shreds Bernie Sanders' 'Magic Math': 'Pay with Unicorn Dust'	28-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/28/nv-post-editorial-board-shreds-bernie-sanders-magic-math-pay-with-unicorn-dust/	Bleau	1	1	1					1	4			
70	Fact Check: Bernie Sanders Claims Medicare for All Would Save Money	25-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/25/fact-check-bernie-sanders-claims-medicare-for-all-would-save-money/	Moran	1	1	1						3			
71	Bernie Sanders to Fund 'Major' Multitriple-Dollar Plans with Military Cuts, Taxes, Lawsuits	25-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/25/bernie-sanders-to-fund-major-multitriple-dollar-plans-with-military-cuts-taxes-lawsuits/	Bleau	1	1	1					1	4			
72	Dem Rep. Jayapal: 'We Have a Health Care System That Literally Causes People to Die'	24-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/clips/2020/02/24/dem-rep-jayapal-we-have-a-health-care-system-that-literally-causes-people-to-die/	Baker	1	1		1					3			
73	Price & Ortiz: The American College of Physicians' Support for Medicare for All Means Nothing	21-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/21/price-ortiz-the-american-college-of-physicians-support-for-medicare-for-all-means-nothing/	Ortiz and Price	1	1	1						3			
74	Ortiz: Bloomberg's 'Medicare for All' Plan Will Bankrupt America	19-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/19/ortiz-bloomberg-medicare-for-all-plan-will-bankrupt-america/	Ortiz	1	1	1						3			
75	Fact Check: Yes, Bernie Sanders Plan Will End Union Workers' Healthcare	19-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/19/fact-check-yes-bernie-sanders-plan-will-end-union-workers-healthcare/	Binder	1		1						2			
76	Mike Bloomberg: Bernie Sanders Wants to Take 165 Million Off Healthcare	19-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/19/michael-bloomberg-bernie-sanders-will-lose-to-rump-with-bad-health-care-plan/	Spiering	1	1	1	1					4			

APPENDIX A - BREITBART ARTICLES			MAJOR THEMES										SUB-THEMES			
#	Headline	Date	Link	Author	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total			
77	Watch: Bloomberg in 2011 Suggested Denying Cancer Treatment to Elderly	17-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/17/watch-bloomberg-in-2011-suggested-denying-cancer-treatment-to-elderly/	Binder	1	1		1		1			4			
78	Pete Buttigieg Vows to Open up Obamacare to Illegal Immigrants	17-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/2020-election/2020/02/17/pete-buttigieg-vows-to-open-up-obamacare-to-illegal-immigrants/#	Spiering	1						1		2			
79	Ocasio-Cortez Admits Bernie Sanders Can't 'Wave a Magic Wand' to Make Medicare for All a Reality	15-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/15/ocasio-cortez-admits-bernie-sanders-sant-wave-a-magic-wand-to-make-medicare-for-all-a-reality/	Bleau		1		1					2			
80	Bernie Sanders: People Attacking Las Vegas Union 'Not Part of Our Movement'	14-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/14/bernie-sanders-people-attacking-las-vegas-union-not-part-of-four-movement/	Bleau		1	1	1					3			
81	Nevada's Culinary Union: Bernie Sanders Supporters 'Viciously Attacked' Us for Healthcare Critique	13-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/13/nevadas-culinary-union-bernie-sanders-supporters-viciously-attacked-us-for-healthcare-critique/	Bleau		1	1	1	1				4			
82	Powerful Las Vegas Union Warns Bernie Sanders Will 'End Culinary Healthcare'	12-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/12/powerful-las-vegas-union-warns-bernie-sanders-will-end-culinary-healthcare/	Binder		1	1	1	1				4			
83	Students for Bernie Sanders in New Hampshire: His Policies Ease the Stress of the 'Real World'	10-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/10/students-for-bernie-sanders-in-new-hampshire-his-policies-ease-the-stress-of-the-real-world/	Pollak	1		1						3			
84	Pollak: Democrats Aren't Having a Grown-up Debate About Policy	9-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/09/pollak-the-eliteness-of-the-democratic-party-presidential-field/	Pollak	1			1		1			4			
85	Fact Check: Bernie Sanders Claims Medicare for All Will Save Americans 'Substantial Sums'	7-Feb-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/02/07/fact-check-bernie-sanders-claims-medicare-for-all-will-save-americans-substantial-sums-of-money/	Bleau	1	1	1						3			
86	Poll: 'Medicare for All' Unpopular in Battleground States - Even Among Democrats	29-Jan-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/01/29/poll-medicare-for-all-unpopular-in-battleground-states-even-among-democrats/	Church	1		1						3			
87	Sanders: 'Impossible to Predict' How Much My Healthcare Plan Costs	24-Jan-20	https://www.breitbart.com/sips/2020/01/24/sanders-impossible-to-predict-how-much-my-healthcare-plan-costs/	Hanchett	1		1					1	4			
88	Bernie Sanders Can't Explain How He Will Prevent Multi-Trillion-Dollar Proposals from Bankrupting Country	14-Jan-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/01/14/bernie-sanders-cant-explain-how-he-will-prevent-his-multi-trillion-dollar-proposals-from-bankrupting-the-country/	Bleau	1	1	1					1	4			
89	Bernie Sanders' Radical Agenda Would Double Government Size, Increase Spending by over \$60 Trillion	14-Jan-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/01/14/bernie-sanders-radical-agenda-would-double-government-size-increase-spending-by-over-60-trillion/	Bleau	1	1	1					1	4			
90	Study: 1.2 Million Healthcare Jobs at Risk Under Medicare for All	13-Jan-20	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2020/01/13/1-2-million-healthcare-jobs-at-risk-medicare-all/	Moran		1	1						2			
91	Democrats' Healthcare Infighting Sending Mixed Messages to Voters	24-Dec-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/12/24/democrats-healthcare-infighting-sending-mixed-messages-to-voters/	Moran				1		1			2			
92	Analysis Finds Elizabeth Warren's Wealth Tax Generates \$1 Trillion Less than Campaign Claims	12-Dec-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/12/12/analysis-finds-elizabeth-warrens-wealth-tax-generates-1-trillion-less-than-campaign-claims/	Bleau		1							1			
93	Ocasio-Cortez 'Tired' of Being Told Free College, Medicare for All Are Handouts	11-Dec-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/12/11/ocasio-cortez-tired-of-being-told-that-free-college-is-a-handout-no-body-else-is-giving-us-a-damn-thing/	Bleau	1	1							2			
94	Elizabeth Warren's Administration Would Require Mass Government Expansion, Analysis Finds	26-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/26/elizabeth-warrens-administration-would-require-mass-government-expansion-analysis-finds/	Bleau	1	1							2			
95	Bernie Sanders Floats Raising Taxes on Families at or Below the Poverty Line	25-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/25/bernie-sanders-floats-raising-taxes-on-families-at-or-below-the-poverty-line/	Bleau		1		1				1	3			

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#	Headline	Date	Link	Author	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total			
96	Dr. Johnson: Would Medicare for All Improve Americans' Health Care Coverage?	18-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/18/dr-johnson-would-medicaid-for-all-improve-americans-health-care-coverage/	Breitbart News (Johnson)	1		1						2			
97	Obama Signals Concern About Radical 2020 Field	16-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/16/obama-signals-concern-about-radical-2020-field/	Bleau	1	1		1					3			
98	Elizabeth Warren Releases Plan to Transition to Medicare for All	16-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/16/elizabeth-warren-releases-plan-to-transition-to-medicare-for-all/	Bleau	1	1	1						3			
99	Katie Hill Exposed: The 'Unfiltered' #MeThree Democrat's Embrace of the Radical Left	14-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/14/katie-hill-exposed-the-unfiltered-methree-democrats-embrace-of-the-radical-left/	Bleau	1			1					2			
100	Joe Biden Falsely Claims Elizabeth Warren Began Medicare for All Dust Up	12-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/12/joe-biden-falsely-claims-elizabeth-warren-started-medicare-for-all-dust-up/	Alic		1		1					2			
101	Bernie Sanders' VA Plan: Provide 'Medically Necessary Gender-Affirmation Surgeries' and 'Abortion Care'	11-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/11/bernie-sanders-va-plan-provide-medically-necessary-gender-affirmation-surgeries-and-abortion-care/	Bleau	1	1							2			
102	Hillary Clinton: Warren's 'Medicare for All' Plan Will Never Happen	7-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/07/hillary-clinton-warrens-medicare-for-all-plan-will-never-happen/	Caplan	1			1					2			
103	Nolte: Elizabeth Warren's Medicare for All Math Is Faker than Her DNA Math	6-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/06/nolte-elizabeth-warrens-medicare-for-all-math-is-faker-than-her-dna-math/	Nolte	1	1							2			
104	Ex-Obama Administration Official: Warren's Medicare for All Like Trying to 'Buy a Unicorn' with a Unicorn	5-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/05/former-obama-administration-official-warrens-medicare-for-all-like-trying-to-buy-a-unicorn-with-a-unicorn/	Bleau	1	1							2			
105	Video Emerges of Nancy Pelosi Backing Single-Payer Health Care in 1993	4-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/04/video-emerges-of-nancy-pelosi-backing-single-payer-health-care-in-1993/	Pollak	1			1					2			
106	Warren Refers to Obama in Response to Biden's Medicare for All Slam	1-Nov-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/11/01/warren-refers-to-obama-in-response-to-bidens-medicare-for-all-slam/	Bleau	1	1		1		1			4			
107	Steve Daines: 'Sad Reality' \$36 Billion in Medicaid 'Lost' to 'Waste, Fraud, Abuse'	30-Oct-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/10/30/steve-daines-sad-reality-36-billion-in-medicareid-lost-to-waste-fraud-abuse/	Moran	1	1	1	1	1	1			6			
108	Study: Health Care for Illegal Aliens Would Cost America \$23 Billion a Year	10-Oct-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/10/10/study-health-care-for-illegal-alien-would-cost-america-23-billion-a-year/	Binder	1	1		1	1	1	1		5			
109	Top Biden Donor: Warren and Sanders 'Don't Represent the Democratic Party'	19-Sep-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/09/19/top-biden-donor-elizabeth-warren-and-bernie-sanders-dont-represent-the-democratic-party/	Alic	1	1		1					3			
110	Bernie Sanders Buses Biden for Praising Big Pharma: 'Their Behavior Is Literally Killing People'	16-Sep-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/09/16/bernie-sanders-buses-biden-for-praising-big-pharma-their-behavior-is-literally-killing-people/	Bleau	1			1				1	3			
111	Study: 52 Rural Iowa Hospitals Could Close Under Biden's Public Option	3-Sep-19	https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/09/03/study-52-rural-iowa-hospitals-could-close-under-bidens-public-option/	Moran	1	1	1	1	1	1			6			
				Totals	82	63	46	39	21	26	12	8				